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REPORT NO. [redacted] 3.5(c)

DATE DISTR. 29 JULY 1977

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~ -- WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED [redacted] 3.5(c)

MICROFILMED

COUNTRY [redacted] Latin America [redacted] 3.3(b)(1)

[redacted] 3.3(b)(1)

SUBJECT [redacted] The Junta for Revolutionary Coordination (JCR) 3.3(b)(1)

[redacted] 3.3(b)(1)

1. [redacted] 3.3(b)(1)

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"The Junta for Revolutionary Coordination (JCR)." The document, [redacted] 3.3(b)(1) 3.3(b)(1) is a study of the JCR and includes listings of JCR contacts worldwide. 3.3(b)(1)

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

SECRET

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

The Junta for Revolutionary Coordination [JCR]

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Historical Evolution

A conference from which emerged the "Tricontinental Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples" opened in Havana on 1 January 1966. Bringing together representatives of the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Palestinians, European intellectuals of the extreme left, most of whom were Trotskyites, and Soviet observers, this conference defined a new strategy of advanced subversion based on the internationalization of the struggle of all the revolutionary governments and organizations engaged in the destruction of capitalism and imperialism.

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

The coming to power of ALLENDE in Chile in 1970 restored a certain impetus to Latin American subversion of which Santiago de Chile became the reception center and center of operations. This same year in Argentina the "Revolutionary People's Army" [ERP] was established. It was the armed branch of the "Revolutionary Workers Party" [PRT], which established itself strongly in Tucuman Province.

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In 1973,

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the coming to power of the third PERON government in Argentina occurred.

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the Argentinian revolutionary movements had full license to open and organize a rural front in Tucumen Province 1,200 kilometers northwest of Buenos Aires, a wooded area, populated and especially favorable for the establishment of an armed clandestine movement (the Argentinian army was indeed prohibited from repressing the subversive movements, a task entrusted to a police force

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE SENSITIVE SECRET SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

incapable of assuming it).

Because of this Argentina was rapidly invaded by the revolutionary organizations of the bordering countries: Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, within which the Argentinian ERP took the directing role. 3.3(b)(1)

3.3(b)(1)

It was under these conditions that in February 1974, at the instigation of the Argentinian ERP and with the support of the LASO, the JCR was established in Mendoza, an organization claiming kinship with the Fourth Trotskyite International, represented during this meeting by Alain KRIVINE, and with the Cuban revolution represented by Arturo FERNANDEZ MARTINEZ and Benigno SOBERON, officials of the Cuban Ministry of the Interior.

Having the ambition to become starting from Argentina the center of the armed struggle for all Latin America, on the one hand the JCR developed its activities more and more openly and boldly in Argentine territory making Tucuman Province an inviolable fief. On the other hand it set up strong points abroad and especially in Eur[illegible].

Peron's death was to put an end to this situation, as the President's wife authorized the army to intervene before she resigned for the benefit of the present military regime.

In July 1976, the revolutionary rural front was practically liquidated,

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

the movements of local and foreign guerrillas broke up and were forced into exile. Their members emigrated mainly to Cuba, Mexico and Europe where a reception and action infrastructure had previously been set up.

While on the Latin American continent the armed struggle is limiting itself to urban guerrilla warfare more and more roughly treated, the USSR is today making its main effort abroad where it is firmly established and where with the aid of local and international organizations, it is dealing hard blows to the governments in position by means of an especially effective propaganda.

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

Bases and doctrine of the JCR

The JCR was established in 1974 at Cuba's instigation. 3.3(b)(1)

3.3(b)(1)

The JCR receives suggestions often originating in Moscow in the person of Rodney ARISMENDI, secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party, suggestions which are relayed by Cuba, but the direct orders never come from Moscow or Cuba, as the JCR is completely independent in its action on the Latin American continent with the exception of special missions on an international level. This same freedom of action is met with again within the JCR itself where each of the movements which constitute it has the power to make and implement decisions in its area of influence.

This freedom of action on the part of the JCR is nevertheless limited by the overall failure of the armed struggle on the Latin American continent, a failure which has induced it to depend more for its survival on Cuba which grants it material, ideological and financial aid.

In this spirit, the JCR, whose logistical base is Cuba, was established to intensify and coordinate the armed struggle on the Latin American continent with the mission of giving military structures to the liberation organizations and movements.

The JCR also claimed kinship with the Fourth Trotskyite International at the time of its establishment without however espousing all the theories

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

and directives of the Unified Secretariat in Brussels. There was even a rupture between the ERP and the Fourth International at the prompting of Mario SANTUCHO holding mainly against Brussels the failure to recognize in the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutionaries the vanguard of the international struggle of the proletariat. SANTUCHO's death smoothed out the differences and during its last congress in Paris, the JCR recommended a rapprochement with the Fourth International while demanding of the Unified Secretariat that it be allowed total autonomy for its operations in Latin America. This rapprochement found expression in deeds by placing at the JCR's disposal the Fourth International's clandestine apparatus to organize its meetings with other revolutionary movements, in particular. A Frenchman, Alain LABROUSSE, was in charge of liaisons between the JCR and the Fourth International.

The JCR endeavors to be the unifying factor in the Latin American struggle. Drawing from both Marxism-Leninism and the politico-revolutionary ideas of "Che" GUEVARA, it advocates the union of all the revolutionary forces of the continent in an armed struggle directed against imperialism, the economic monopolies, bourgeois nationalism, reformism. The JCR itself does not always reveal itself materially on the military and operational levels which, as in the past, are the province of the member organizations but in accordance with the Leninist doctrine which it claims as its authority, it tries to place the people's liberation armies under the direction of the proletarian combatant parties. Its basic strategy aimed at the necessity for a prolonged revolutionary war which would make of Latin America a new Vietnam.

As priority was given to Argentina and Chile, it had planned a twofold action conducted jointly in the interior and abroad:

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

- in the interior:

establishment of a central operations command,

allowing autonomy on the local level but imposing synchronization on the continental level

organization of a military apparatus

coordination of subversive action throughout the continent with appropriate means

consolidation and extension of terrorist centers.

abroad:

establishment of centers, kinds of bases

in charge of establishing, developing movements of solidarity and support

in liaison with fellow traveler international organizations with a view

to conducting an orchestrated campaign of propaganda against and denigration of the military governments.

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

SECRET

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

Organization and functioning of the JCR

I - Composition

When it was established, the structure of the JCR was constituted by:

- Revolutionary People's Army [ERP], armed branch of the Argentinian Revolutionary Workers Party [PRT] led by Mario SANTUCHO, killed in 1976
- National Liberation Movement [MLN] Uruguyan Tupamaros led by Andres Felix CULTELLI CHIRIRAO
- National Liberation Army [ELN] of Bolivia led by Ruben SANCHEZ VALDIVIA
- Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR] of Chile led by Patricio Antonio BIEDMA.

The following groups were then affiliated more or less closely with this basic nucleus:

- Revolutionary Armed Vanguard [VAR] - Brazil
- Socialist Action Movement [MAS] - Brazil
- Paraguayan National Liberation Front [FREPALINA] - Paraguay
- Revolutionary Armed Front [FAR] - Guatemala
- The Montoneros (Argentina) led by Mario FIRMENICH and Roberto QUIETO
- Armed Front of National Liberation [FALN] - Venezuela
- Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR] - Peru
- National Liberation Army [ELN] - Colombia
- Sandanist Front - Nicaragua

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

II. Management and Organization

At least up to the seizure of power by the military in Argentina the ERP played a preponderant role within the JCR with its general command in Buenos Aires and with schools for cadre and logistical infrastructure in Tucuman Province.

Since its creation, faithful to the principles of internationalism of the struggle as laid down in Havana in 1966 and spelled out by LASO in 1967, the JCR established an international organization structured roughly as follows:

21. General Command and the Latin American Zone.

The working organ of the General Command is L'Equipe Internationale [International Team] through which pass all contacts between member organizations of the JCR both in and out of Latin America.

This team transmits orders and guidance from the general command furnishing the themes and data for propaganda activities and for unity among the cadre in the campaign conducted in favor of subversive organizations and against the existing governments. It is also responsible for the [redacted] overseas infrastructure for receiving refugees. [redacted] covered

Its preferred interlocutor is the Argentine Center for Information and Solidarity (CAIS) located in Paris which is the the [redacted] favorable for communications in Europe and the USA.

Prime emphasis of the actions conceived by the international team is based on:

-actions of solidarity aimed at gaining the ideological sympathy of official international organizations in order to [redacted] have them intervene on behalf of imprisoned revolutionary militants which

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

with whose release it concerns itself.

-propaganda campaigns against torture, prisons, execution and rightist movements.

The dismantlement of this international team in 1976 brought disorganziation to the general command, the majority of whose hard core leaders sought refuge in Mexido and Cuba, and the temporary interruption of liaison with the CAIS of Paris.

At the same time that the General Headquarters located itself in Cuba and Bogota, Paris saw its international role grow.

After 1976 the Command of the JCR moved and lost some of its unity.

Its principal leaders are:

Juan Carlos Ledesma	alias Ramon	- ERP
Ruben Sanchez Valdivia	alias Jesus	-ELN
Edgardo Enriquez	alias Victor	- MIR
FPMR MIR	alias Bruno	- MIR

22. External (Foreign) Command

Since its formation, the JCR located itself in Europe to conduct an action complementary to the armed struggle, an action conceived and directed by the international team and carried out by a general secretariat based in Paris - which became functional in December 1978.

This general secretariat operates in various organizations of which the principle one is the Argentine Center for Informations and Solidarity (CAIS) formed in March 1975 under the name of Group for Soli

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES

SECRET

3.5(c)

solidarity with the Argentine People (GSPA), which grew out of the Russel Court #2, It assumed its new name after joining with the Information Center for Argentina in Struggle and the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Argentina. These organizations were semi-clandestine, having connections with most of the french and foreign revolutionary movements.

3.3(b)(1)

In addition to CAIS, the JCR operates through the Association of Latin American Students based in the Centre de Rencontres, 67 Rue du Theatre, Paris, 15e.

Organization and Role of CAIS

The CAIS, formed with the assistance of Cuba, naturally established itself in Paris where there is a resident community of more than 20,000 Latin Americans where they enjoyed an extraordinary political welcome. It is the principal working organ of the JCR in Europe where it is the liaison agent, not only with other European others but with those of the the Americas and the orient, of which it coordinates the activities. It is also a processing and transit center for Cuba and Europe.

The CAIS consists of a General Secretariat and specialized

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

secretariats each responsible for liaison with other groups:

-Finances : management and allocation of funds

-Press and Propaganda : liaison with Amnesty International

-Foreign relations: liaison with other bureaus

-sympathizers: contacts with organizations providing support

dolidarity: responsible for aid to refugees

-cultural: organizes fund raising activities.

The principle officially are:

F.L.H. ALVAREZ

RODOLFO MATTAROLO - ERP, Representative of JCR Paris

Luis Benito BERRUTTI COSTA - Montonero, Secretary General of of CAIS and supervises a bureau in Madrid and is in contact with the KGB.

Alejandro TEITELBAUM

Hector & Enrique Yankelevitch

Naum Norman Briski

The majority of CAIS members are permanent travellers and are veritable propaganda brokers in all of Europe as well as Asia, the USA and the Arab world.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

In September 1975, Lisbon became operational base and a ~~point~~ ~~staging~~ temporary support point in case of a take-over by the Argentine military.

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ROME: JCR activities in Italy come under the "~~Coordi~~ "Action Committee for the Argentine Revolutionary Front" which is located in Rome and whose actions are tending to assume ~~greater~~ increasingly greater ~~importance~~

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

importance. The head of the JCR for Europe, Federico Chavez, lives in Rome where he has been rejoined by Norman Briski, Secretary General of CAIS.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)
3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

32. Propaganda

The JCR has a press organ, the Latin American Press Agency (APAL),

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

based in Caracas, Buenos Aires (clandestine) and Paris.

3.3(b)(1)

33. ~~Extraterritorial~~ Training

Most training, both technical and military is given in Cuba, in Guenabo for urban guerrilla training and in the province of ~~Pinar~~ Pinar Del Rio for rural guerrilla training.

3.3(b)(1)

Angola also allowed the training of Latin American groups regrouped within a brigade formed in Portugal which now appears to have been dissolved.

The German Democratic Republic also provided training courses in specialized schools such as Bogensee near Bernau or the Wilhelm Pieck Youth Academy where politico-subversion courses are given or in summer camps were new revolutionary are trained. The choice of the German Democratic Republic may be motivated by its ease of access without checks through

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

East Berlin.

Finally an internations school for rural guerrilla warfare operates in Guyana.

IV. Actions of the JCR

The armed struggle, the leadership of the masses and the overthrow of existing power with the aim of installing people's socialist regimes are priority objectives.

The seizure of power by military regimes, and the repression and anhilation of of rural guerrillas have forces them to moderate their ambitions on the Latin American continent or to maintain only urban guerrilla activities which are less efficacious but often spectacular.

Being mostly exiled, the revolutionary leaders have moved their combat to the European continent, the most pourous and the most permissive, where they have reconstituted an essentially subversive apparatus which naturally has found a home on the European revolutionary fringe.

From Europe they mount a three-pronged action:

-reconstitution of networks

-creating organizations of solidarity and support

-Infiltration of international organizations in the frame of a campaign aimed at discrediting and isolating the exisiting governments.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

12

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

 3.5(c)

Internal Connections of the JCR

The JCR, as it has been presented heretofore, appears from under the ERP, its Argentine mother-organization. The picture would be incomplete if the other Latin American movements, (whose seats are in Paris,) included in the JCR and with which the ERP works in close cooperation, are not introduced herein.

I - The Chilean MIR

Its installation and following in Europe preceded the establishment of ERP and JCR and it became a model and a mould for the latter two. In July 1976, 16,500 Chileans had left their country.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.3(b)(1)

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Destroyed in Uruguay in October 1976, it was, among other things, resposhsible for the abduction of the Argentine industrialist Frederico HART who was released against ransom.

Its objective being the isolation of the government and its exclusive method being terrorist action, this movement has a representation abroad which is financed by the Marxist committees "Defense and Solidarity" which have offices in PARIS, NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO, ROME.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

- The Cuban department for "America", which gets massive financial support from the USSR, is the political and logistical brain of of the JCR through the intermediary of LASO.

3.3(b)(1)

-The "Wilhem PIECK" Youth Academy in BOGENSEE, German Democratic Republic, has organized political-subversive training courses for the benefit of an important contingent of Latin American nationals , while in ROSTOCK there is a center for training Germans selected to carry out missions in Latin America.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

If it is not the product of LASO, the JCR is its continuation and an instrument of combat. On the armed struggle level the JCR receives from Cuba logistical training, financial and moral assistance; on the propaganda and subversive activities all the JCR European bureaus are in permanent contact with the local embassies which are delivering funds and assistance.

3.3(b)(1)

Alain KRIVINE participated at the inaugural of the JCR. At the very heart of the LCR there is a team which is specifically entrusted with contacts with Latin American revolutionaries. Under the impulse of Mario SANTUCHO a partial rupture took place between the ERP and the Fourth International, but after the death of SANTUCHO in 1976, a very open rapprochement took place among all movements participating in the JCR of PARIS and the LCR - the most active French branch of the Fourth InternATIONAL.

The LCR places at the disposal of the JCR its clandestine infrastructure in particular for the organization of meetings with the other revolutionary organizations, above all the Palestinian ones. Alain LABROUSSE is the liaison man between the JCR and the Fourth International.

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

4

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

-Conclusion-

The JCR is perfectly integrated to the international mechanism of the anti-imperialist struggle conceived at the HAVANA conference in 1966. Having replaced Vietnam as one of the worries of Western intellegentsia, the JCR managed to built from itself an image of strength abroad while surviving painfully in the Latin American continent.

For the time being the JCR elements are waging in Europe a struggle limited to propaganda and political action. However, on the basis of its moulding and connections with the most extreme revolutionary movement the JCRis compelled, whether by need or solidarity, to engage in violent actions on European territory where it has received a particularly liberal welcome.

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOU
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.3(b)(1) 3.5(c)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

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3.3(b)(1)

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

SECRET

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

SECRET

3.5(c)

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

SECRET

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

SECRET

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

~~SECRET~~

3.5(c)

3.3(b)(1)

~~SECRET~~

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

3.5(c)

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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AND METHODS INVOLVED

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825

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Approved for Release: 2018/10/02 C00513825